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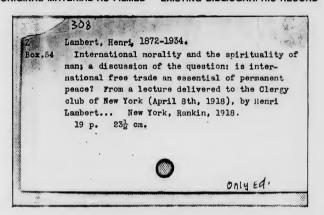
International morality and the spirituality...

New York 1918

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INTERNATIONAL MORALITY

AND THE

SPIRITUALITY OF MAN

A DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION:

IS INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE
AN ESSENTIAL OF PERMANENT PEACE?

FROM A LECTURE
DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY CLUB OF NEW YORK (APRIL 8th, 1918)

By

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Against the settlement of international problems and the securing of permanent peace by way of "machinery" and "organization," there stand complications and difficulties that probably are insuperable. It seems as if in this way Nature itself had provided for the necessity of a deeper solution—as if for the safety and welfare of mankind a higher purpose required the advent of righteousness, morality, spirituality in international life.

INTERNATIONAL MORALITY and the SPIRITUALITY OF MAN

One God, one law, one element,
And one far off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.
Tennyson. In Memorian.

"Indeed, the future of the race would be shrouded for us in darkness and utter gloom, there would be nothing left for us to hope, for the individual and for society, if we did not believe with Leibnitz that the final aim of life is the completeness and the beauty of the universe as a whole, not the happiness of its individual constituents; that evil in the last analysis is a servant of good and an integral and indispensable part in the Divine order."

"The Idea of Progress from Leibnitz to Goethe,"

a lecture by Dr. Kuno Francke

GENTLEMEN:

When I had the honor to be invited to address the Clergy Club of New York on the subject: "Is international free-trade an essential of permanent peace?" I entertained high hopes that at this present date the question would have become a great actuality. The German Reichstag's resolutions of July 19th, 1917 included a sentence whose significant importance has been overlooked in the allied countries, viz.: "Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples." In his speech on the 8th of last January, President Wilson proposed as the third of his fourteen conditions "the removal so far as possible of all economic barriers, and an equality of trade conditions among all nations consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance." A few weeks ago (beginning of

March 1918) a prominent German, Dr. Helfferich, formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, addressing an important body in Hamburg made this declaration: "The peace which Germany needs above all is an economic peace. . We will meet the plan of economic differentiation with a demand for the most favored nation treatment, the plan of exclusion with a demand for opendoor and free seas, and the threat of blockade of raw materials with a demand for delivery of raw materials." Helfferich added that "Germany had first to win this peace, if it must be," a reprehensible assertion, for he knew that Germany could get the economic peace, if only she accepted the Wilsonian program of equality of economic rights for all nations as the basis of a league of nations.

Probably there existed in Germany a strong body of proponents of further negotiations on the basis of the Reichstag's resolution and President Wilson's third condition. But, after the German political and diplomatic "Russian success" (in no way a military achievement) the party of militarists and imperialists needed and desired for prestige a victory, which, they supposed, was within their reach; moreover, the industrials and agrarians energetically and criminally clung to their protectionist errors and privileges; they refused freedom or even reciprocity in international economic intercourse—hence Helfferich's "demands" and threats of "winning" an "economic peace." And so the great offensive began on the 21st of March, without further peace pourparlers initiated by Germany.

Nevertheless, I remain fully convinced that the question of the "Pax Economica"—the international free-trade peace—will be the primary, fundamental issue of any possible settlement. In his recent speech, Chancellor von Hertling declared that Germany is at war (1) for her territorial integrity and (2) for freedom of economic development. Yet Hertling and other leaders of Germany and Austria persistently refrain from admitting that we will not and cannot grant them the "demanded" world freedom of trade, nor even equality of trade rights, (still less economic and political leadership in East-Europe and Asia-Minor,) without insisting on our liberty of general intercourse everywhere. This for us is not only a question of equality of economic opportunities but also one of political security; indeed a question of life and death. The civilized world thus appears to be confronted with the following dilemma: International Free Trade, or indefinite continuation of War, with all the consequences.

My preceding remarks, Gentlemen, are merely intended as an introduction to a subject which appears to be of momentous future import, if not of immediate actuality. But when I accepted the invitation of your distinguished secretary, Dr. Walter Laidlaw, I did not contemplate dealing with the free-trade peace question from the purely economic point of view, nor from a political standpoint, narrow even though international. I valued this invitation as an exceptional opportunity for considering the question from a philosophic viewpoint, indeed for endeavouring to lift it to a plane which I might not safely attempt to reach in another circle. By this I mean that I hope to have your co-operation, as you may rely on my best will and effort in this contribution to the solution of the World's problem. You will thoroughly understand and sympathize with me if I add that I propose to transform the question: "Is international free-trade an essential of permanent peace?" into this question: "Is international morality an essential of permanent peace?" Indeed my lecture is entitled: "International Morality and the Spirituality of Man."

My theoretical point in the matter of war and peace is that physical struggle for life, combat for survival of the fittest, is the natural law of beings deprived of morals-but that, for beings arrived at the stage of morality, the natural law is one of economic competition under a regime of division of labor and exchange, in view of extended and improved mutual service, of peaceable co-operation and of general uplift. Social and international Darwinism is a true interpretation of history only in so far as and the measure in which mankind, socially and internationally, is deprived of adequate morals. "The normal accomplishment of the moral progress of social or national collectivities, and of the international commonwealth, must be achieved through thought and result in peace, social and international. Failing this, the incoercible law of progress will impose its action by force—in wars and revolutions. Conflict between men in view of victory going to the strongest (presumably the most apt and "best") is the heroic, primitive, inferior and uncertain means of humanity's progressive development. It is the "amoral" or un-moral means. But co-operation by division of labor and exchange-permanent and inescapable testimony to human solidarity, first and eternal form of mutual help, and necessary condition preliminary to altruism—is the superior and certain means of a civilized development of mankind. It is the moral means."(1)

Permanent international harmony and peace is an achievement reserved, and a reward promised, to peoples for their accession to the stage of international morality, that is to say, of morality in their relations. No human law, no human force, no peace-organization or machinery whatever can take the place of morality in international relations; nor can law, force, organizations create international morality. This is dictated to men by natural ethical laws. Man's duty and task is to discover the natural and divine laws of ethics in order to apply them as rules of conduct in relations, therefore in national and international politics.

Once the natural ethical data of international conduct are known and adopted, men will gradually find it possible to establish a true and stable international law, with such force at its service as would be necessary, and they also will attain to any desirable international organization and institution.

My proposition therefore is that the securing of peace consists in two elemental and precedent processes (1) the theoretical determination of the principles of international morality and (2) the practical observance of these principles in international life.

II

It has always appeared to me to be an extraordinary fact, which serves sharply to characterize the materialism or the artificiality, and at any rate the superficiality of our culture, that this statement—a sort of axiom—which I have not ceased to put forward since the very first months of the war—has scarcely met anything else but indifference and neglect, if not contempt, on the part of professors, jurists, writers, clergymen, statesmen—and also of pacifists, who, though they may be the best-meaning people on earth, have shown themselves generally to be mere sentimental and often weak minded ideologists.

For many years, and more than ever during three years past, we have heard so-called "leaders of thought," (taking effects for causes and thus putting the cart before the horse) speak of disarmament and freedom of the seas in order to create international security; of international tribunals for bringing about international harmony. Many insist on national self-determination for securing peace and on leagues of nations to "enforce peace." There are those who contemplate the maintenance of peace through inter-

¹ From "International Morality and Exchange," second part of "Pax Economica" (page 60).

national governments or "supernational councils," though every body sees how still imperfect are national governments, how unsatisfactorily and unsafely they work in spite of their relative simplicity. Some, particularly absurd, are concerned (and busy) with vindications and ameliorations of the "laws of civilized warfare," that is to say, of the rules of ethical slaughter and destruction. Others, better inspired, but, nevertheless, illusioned, put their hopes in international love through the action of the churches, forgetting that men cannot love if they are not first just, one to another, and that they cannot be just if they do not first know what is justice, what is "morality." Among responsible or influential men and leaders of the world nobody has been heard speaking of the necessity of introducing truth and morals in the intercourse of nations, morality in international life. President Wilson, however, has come near to this and may be expected to come to it.

Such a failure of cultured and thinking people is an extraordinary phenomenon; it will not escape the attention and comment of future moralists and historians of the present world cataclysm, its causes and the reasons of its duration. Their conclusion will be that we had built a material and artificial civilization in which even those whose business it was to study, to embody or to apply law had lost sight of the necessity of founding law and order on morality, or had thought that morality consists in institutions and "organizations."

The tragic mistake of these "responsible" men is to persist in the belief and to insist on the contention that international peace is a state of things that must be "organized" and "enforced." No one among them yet appears to realize that peace can only be "induced," called into being through natural conditions and preserved through adequate means. True peace is harmony. Be it social or international it can no more be "organized" and "enforced" than can health and happiness. These all are consequences, that follow the removal of causes born of ignorance, which make for discord, for disease, for misery. They are rewards to man for his knowledge and practice of Truth, i.e. of the natural laws controlling human life and progress.(*) All evil, all human

"Truth is the conclusion arising from observation by Man of the phenomena of Nature. Such are physical truths, chemical truths, biological, economic, sociological, and moral truths. Such also will be religious truths when men realize that "spirituality" or spiritualization of matter is a natural phenomenon. Truths and laws are to be found in the nature of things, and nowhere else.

suffering, are the outcome of stupidity and ignorance—the real "original sin," for humanity has originated, men are born, in ignorance. Goodness, unless enlightened, is valueless; all good, all enjoyment, is the outcome of intelligence and knowledge, the highest of "virtues." "Ignorance is the curse of God, knowledge is the wing that shall bring humanity to Heaven." In this, there is an understandable transcendent purpose. But there functions a just law of human solidarity, which I shall presently attempt to interpret, causing some to suffer from stupidity and ignorance of others, and sometimes these latter to benefit from the intelligence and knowledge of the former.

The primary condition of good, joy, harmony, peace in human relations, is thus seen to be knowledge of what is just, equitable, moral, that is to say, knowledge of the natural and divine laws of ethical conduct. This statement brings us back into closer touch with our subject; for we have said that the primary problem of international peace lies in the determination of the principles of international morality.

III

This problem requires that an answer be first given to the general question: What is morality in intercourse? A satisfactory answer would be: Morality in intercourse is the observance of such rules of Truth and Justice as not only ensure order, progress and peace in human societies, but which also respond to human spiritual Finalities. But, for the moment, I propose this more concrete definition: Morality is the law of human relations; it is the natural and, therefore, the divine law of conduct in conformity with which human relations will develop and increasingly advance to the satisfaction of human needs, through mutual service and co-operation. This, I beg to observe, is true for all human needs, up to the highest, the spiritual.

But God and Nature have provided Man with needs that must first be satisfied, namely food, clothing, shelter, (to which we might add raw materials and tools necessary for production). These economic needs of man are his vital needs. His economic rights, therefore, are his primary natural rights. His economic relations are, if not his primary, at least his fundamental relations. By the nature of things, expressing the Will of God, morality in economic relations is the fundamental morality. Mutual service and co-operation in economic matters is the fundamental natural

and divine law of ethics, ensuring satisfaction of vital and fundamental human needs. By the nature of things, expressing the Will of God, international morality is fundamentally morality in international economic intercourse; and mutual economic service and co-operation of peoples is the fundamental ethical international law.

That morality in relations concerned with physical needs, or "economic morality" has this primary, fundamental importance, is a statement which may seem prosaic and which, in a less enightened religious circle, would even be accused of materialistic tendencies. But I need not here remark that a fact which is observed in Nature, which exists in and by the nature of things, is a preordained fact, responding to a natural and superior law, against which man's will cannot prevail, before which man must bow, and to which he must conform his conceptions and his rules of conduct.

No thinker has succeeded better than your stimulating philosopher and poet Emerson in showing the importance of the economic factor and issue in the problems of human life. Allow me to read this passage of Emerson's Journals, which I reproduced in an article on "National Self Determination" published in the current issue (April 1918) of the North-American Review:

Trade was always in the world, and, indeed, to judge hastily, we might well deem trade to have been the purpose for which the world was created. It is the cause, the support and the object of all government. Without it, men would roam the wilderness alone, and never meet in the kind conventions of social life. Who is he that causes this busy stir, this mighty and laborious accommodation of the world to men's wants? Who is he that plants care like a canker at men's hearts, and furrows their brows with thrifty calculations? that makes money for his instrument, and therewith sets men's passions in ferment and their faculties in action, unites them together in the clamorous streets and arrays them against each other in war? It is Trade-Trade, which is the mover of the nations and the pillar whereon the fortunes of life hang. All else is subordinate. Tear down, if you will, the temples of Religion, the museums of Art, the laboratories of Science, the libraries of Learningand the regret excited among mankind would be cold, alas! and faint; -a few would be found, a few enthusiasts in secret places to mourn over their ruins;but destroy the temples of Trade, your stores, your wharves and your floating castles on the deep; restore to the earth the silver and gold which was dug out thence to serve his purposes; - and you shall hear an outcry from the ends of the earth. Society would stand still, and men return howling to forests and caves, which would now be the grave, as they were once the cradle, of the human race.

This partial and inordinate success by which this institution of men wers the crown over all others is necessary; for the prosperity of trade is built upon desires and necessities which nourish no distinction among men;

which all,—the high and humble, the weak and strong can feel, and which must first be answered, before the imprisonment of the mind can be broken and the noble and delicate thoughts can issue out, from which Art and Literature spring. The most enthusiastic philospher requires to be fed and clothed before he begins his analysis of nature, and scandal has called poetry, taste, imagination the overflowing phantasms of a high-fed animal.

I assume that you allow that the economic needs of man are his fundamental needs, his economic relations his fundamental relations, that morality in economics, or "economic morality" is the fundamental morality, and that international morality therefore is fundamentally morality in international economic intercourse.

ΤV

Thus we already have taken two warranted conclusions (1) Permanent peace must be based on international morality (2) Fundamental international morality is international economic morality.

The question now arising is: What are the characteristics of morality in international economic intercourse? What is international economic morality?

If it is true that economic morality is the natural and divine law of human economic intercourse, ensuring the largest possible satisfaction of human economic needs, it is equally admittedly true that morality requires this largest possible satisfaction, not for the few, but for the many, and indeed, as far as is possible, for all mankind. From this it follows that economic morality is one and the same thing as justice, equity, equality in economic rights assured to all men. Also it follows that international economic morality is equity, equality in economic rights for all nations.

Now, equity and equality in rights can be attained only through liberty. Attempts to ensure equity and equality among men through human made laws, organization, machinery, force or treaties, if not at the service of liberty, are condemned to failure because they are in opposition to natural law; for, natural law is the law of natural order, which is and can be nothing else than order through and in liberty. If liberty were not synonymous with equity and equality, and were not thus the natural means of progress and harmony, there could be no natural order, and, therefore, no natural law.

But there is a natural order and law. Surely this is nowhere written in nature; the "tabulae naturae" are but the product of Cicero's eloquent imagination. Natural laws are the conclusions

formed by man from his observation of Nature's facts or phenomena. Observing physical, chemical, biological, economic, sociological and moral facts, he discovers that they respond to an order (therefore are "pre-ordained"); he expresses this order in formulas. which are what he calls "natural laws," and which all are divine laws, the living and ever present expression of a superior will and purpose. Methodically passing from the study of the physicochemical phenomena to that of the biological, man sees, or ought to have seen and understood, that appearance of life is coincident and concomitant with the dawn of a state of liberty in the individual cell. He is enabled to realize that liberty of the individual (with corresponding responsibility) is the principle of progress in living nature, and throughout evolution furnishes the craft and lever in the working out and the fulfilment of Nature's purpose. Also he sees, in observing the phenomona of human life, that no progress, harmony, order and peace exist where despotism or oppression prevails, but that they do exist where liberty prevails, provided it is true liberty, that is to say liberty with responsibility. liberty without infringement or tutelage, without privilege, liberty in equity and equality of rights. Progress and harmony are the result of natural order and of the law of liberty, which are divine order and law.

Natural law and restraint of liberty are contradictory terms. Natural law and liberty are identical conceptions. Morality, which is the natural and divine law of human relations, is, therefore, freedom and liberty in human relations. International morality is freedom of international relations. International economic morality is freedom of international economic relations, that is to say, it is International Free Trade.

v

I therefore was entitled to transform the question proposed to me: Is international free-trade necessary for permanent peace? into this question: Is international morality, in its fundamental manifestation, necessary for permanent peace?

If we accept as truth and natural law the result of common perennial experience which is that justice, equity, equality in rights are a prerequisite of harmony and peace among men, we are entitled also to conclude that International Free Trade, which has been shown to be this fundamental international morality, is the essential, basic factor of permanent peace.

Once this is understood and recognized—but meer before—
and once international free trade is established, at least in principle, i.e. recognized as the necessary ultimate issue among nations,
the sense of justice being fulfilled and satisfied in fundamental,
vital matters, an atmosphere of international good will, good faith
and harmony will be created, and gradually all needful things will
become possible in the sphere of international organization and
machinery. International law will be provided with its true,
real, material and necessary moral foundation. Disarmament on
land and seas, freedom of the seas, international tribunals, leagues
of nations, international force, liberty and self-determination of
nationalities, open and honest diplomacy and treaties, will be
possible as the natural, gradual result of the advent of international
morality, fundamentally represented by International Free Trade,
Thus and then Peace can be and will be permanent.

Never before, I repeat, for against the settlement of the problem of permanent peace through international institutions, such as tribunals and leagues of nations, there stand extraordinary difficulties and complications. These may be insuperable; at any rate, if such institutions are to be established, they will require the extreme good will and good faith on the part of all nations. And such good-will and good-faith are not conceivable,

except as the reward of Justice and Morality.

As I have stated it in the article of the North American Review before referred to, "it seems as if, by these extraordinary complications and difficulties, Nature itself had provided for the necessity of a solution of international problems deeper or higher than "organizations" and "machineries"—it seems as though for the safety and happiness of the Barth's peoples a higher purpose had required the advent of righteousness, morality, spirituality in international life.

37T

This remark carries me further into the question propounded by me, and here I have the hope and need of your collaboration.

I indulge the thought that I have given a satisfactory affirmative answer to the question: Is International Free Trade necessary to permanent peace? But the philosophic mind will inquire why in the nature of things, and in conformity with the superior purpose, economic, that is to say, material and physical issues have such an overwhelming influence on the fate of Mankind. To this Why? I shall attempt to outline a provisional explanation and interpretation.

If political organization, national or international, if progress of national and international life, if advancement of civilization, must be based on justice in economic relations, equality in economic rights, liberty in economic exchange and co-operation, it is, I suggest, because the progress and advance of human collectivities can have no other ultimate finality than the spiritual development of the individual, who, by God and Nature, has been provided with vital physical needs of which the just, equitable satisfaction is imposed as the primary and fundamental natural and divine ethical law. In other words, if national collectivities, international commonwealths, human societies, civilizations, respond to a cause and an end, this first and final cause can obviously be no other than the spirituality of man. Now, by the nature and force of things, man must satisfy his economic needs before he can expand in the intellectual, moral and "finally" in the spiritual spheres of activity. Speaking of these economic needs Emerson asserts: "these desires and necessities must first be answered before the imprisonment of the mind can be broken and the noble and delicate thought can issue out, from which Art and Literature spring." The Latin said: "Primum vivere, deinde philosophari." But I suggest further that the human soul, or "Spirit," cannot form itself, develop, ascend, in an unsatisfactory state of economic activities, rights and relations, that is to say, in an economic status where production and distribution of wealth do not afford to the individual the material basis of life, with the necessary facility and consequent leisure. Economic equity and liberty, which is economic morality, thus appears to be in the realm of private, social and international activities and relations, the fundamental necessity not only for any lasting achievement but also for the fulfilment of the finalities of Man, of the cause and end of human kind, and indeed, for the accomplishment of the final cause of the universe-at least for the part that humanity holds and plays in the universal phenomenon, for we must not lose sight of the fact that beings as men or analogous to men probably have evolved and developed out of an infinity of other worlds.

If it were shown by way of a simple, rational, scientifically acceptable hypothesis, that the soul of man is formed from, and composed of spiritualized matter (and this necessarily would mean that the cause and end of the Universe is the spiritualization of matter) would not the provision of matter to Man, i.e. the

satisfaction of human material, physical needs, appear to be the fundamental prerequisite of the fulfilment of the final cause?

VII

The Universe manifests itself to us in the form of physicochemical, biological, economic, sociological or political, and moral phenomena—all developing according to natural laws, all "preordained," all responding to a will, to a purpose, therefore to an end or finality. "One God, one law, one element, and one far off divine event, to which the whole creation moves." Are not these phenomena, in the very succession just indicated, the series of natural transmutations through which matter passes before it is susceptible of acquiring its superior state of Spirit? Is the spiritual phenomenon not the ultimate natural phenomenon? In the named succession and series, what is the role or function of economic activities?

Gradually, from our Planet (and from an infinity of other worlds) beings evolved who reached the stage, first of production. then of exchange of products; thus, naturally succeeding the physico-chemical and biological, and taking their rank in the series, appeared on earth the economic phenomena. But these are not merely the processes of production, distribution and consumption ministering to human physical necessities: economics is something more than rules of efficient production: even something higher than those of equitable distribution of wealth-though. in the absence of this, the "crescite et multiplicamini" cannot find its beneficent realization. The laws of equitable distribution and consumption are the highest that have been formulated by economists; but the philosophic mind may perceive a still higher economic function, namely that the primordial and basic economic phenomena-division of labor and exchange-are the natural phenomena through which man gradually lifted himself from the state of animality to that of humanity, became a moral and spiritual being-acquired a soul.

Scientists who combine insight in economics with some philosophic disposition of mind have concluded that "man is a trading animal" We say in French: "l'homme est l'animal qui échange". These scientists thus mean that the only difference between man and animal is that the former exchanges, and the latter does not; they attach to this result of their observation a materialistic sense. They draw from it a materialistic conclusion. The observation, so far as it goes, is correct, but the con-

clusion most probably, as we shall presently see, is shortsighted and wrong. Allow me to read here a passage of my chapter on "Economic Justice" in the part of "Pax Economica" entitled "International Morality and Exchange:"

"What is justice? Justice in itself is considered undefinable. This, we think, is because its definition has always been sought in the ideal or the abstract. Let us seek it in the nature of things.

In order to be successful, first in conceiving, and secondly in defining justice in its essence, it is necessary to begin by inquiring what was its origin among men. Now, the conception of Justice cannot have entered and gradually taken shape in the human brain until men came into a relationship other than that of force-that is to say, until the dependence of man on his fellow began to be satisfied by exchange of things and services. The origin of the sentiment and notion of Justice in human intercourse lies in the natural and divine phenomenon of division of labor and exchange of products and services. Justice was born of the necessity of evaluating things that had to be more or less freely exchanged and of accepting their approximate equivalent. As division of labor, as well as exchange of things and of intellectual and moral services, have become more complex and free, so have the sentiment and conception of Justice been developed, perfected and raised. Justice is directly functional to freedom of labor and exchange. Natural law and positive morals have as origin and will keep as fundamental principle, the freedom of rendering mutual services by labor and exchange."

If the natural and divine phenomena of division of labor and exchange are those in which justice among men originated, they are, in the named succession of universal manifestations—physico-chemical, biological, economic, sociological, moral—the primitive moral manifestations; for, there could be no morality on earth before justice was born. Division of labor and exchange thus appear to have been the primordial natural and divine phenomena of morality and spirituality, i.e. of the formation of the human soul, or Spirit.

Do not misunderstand me: I do not contend that man "spiritualizes himself," or develops his soul, merely by production and exchange; but that these economic processes, with the primordial justice which they imply, and with the moral forces to which they thus give birth, have been and remain the necessary primordial basic activities of human spirituality, which subsequently can and must develop itself through higher aims and efforts.

Now, if division of labor and exchange have had and conserve the function of developing new and higher natural moral forces (capable of action on matter, as are all natural forces) through which the highly evolved matter of the human brain "spiritualizes" and becomes soul and "Spirit," these natural economic and moral manifestations appear to be the primordial and basic phenomena in the elaboration of the cause and end of the universe, that is to say, in the fulfilment of the Supreme Purpose.

VIII

For this necessary elaboration and fulfilment there exists between men a natural bond of mutual responsibility, or "solidarity." Men must accomplish the final spiritual cause and superior purpose, which is the "raison d'être" of human activities, and, indeed, of Mankind itself. Under great sanctions and heavy penalties, they are compelled, in private, social, national and international life, to entertain the basic moral relations, that by the nature of things are the economic relations of division of labor and exchange of services. They are "compelled," we say; for in the absence of such relations there could be no material and physical welfare, man would soon return to the state of the cave dweller, he would in both senses return to "animality"; and, when these basic economic and moral relations are restricted, are more or less prevented by human laws, are not free, welfare is hampered, discord and strife arise, revolutions and wars break out. Men thus fall back under the laws of physical struggle for life and survival of the strongest (presumably the fittest and "best") which is the regime to which are submitted all beings that, having no direct "final" mission, are "non-moral"; or that, contributing and "co-operating" insufficiently to the fulfilment of universal finality, prove themselves to be inadequately moral. Men must co-operate economically and morally, or they must fight. They even must "progress," or fight-that is to say, they must increase their economic and moral co-operation and all, together, through exchange of service, or mutual help, advance in physical, moral and spiritual welfare and thus accelerate their contribution to the universal final accomplishment. Short of such "progress" they will fight in revolution or war. Out of the fighting comes a change of general conditions of economic, social, international life, a change that is, or ought to be, an amelioration of conditions making progress more normal, permitting a more normal fulfilment of individual and universal finalities. Failing this the fighting will continue or recommence: Men must cooperate and progress, or fight.

Such is, I think, a preliminary explanation and interpretation of what we call economic issues, cooperation, natural solidarity, progress, morality, spirituality, and finality. They are expressions

and conceptions without meaning, or with a necessarily obscure meaning, if we consider human phenomena apart from the ensemble of natural phenomena, that is to say, apart from the whole universe and the Supreme Purpose—a purpose which it is our duty and task to study and to interpret. (*)

If there is reason and truth in these diverse statements they show how foolish it is to disregard the economic fundamentals of morality; how futile to hope to succeed in such achievements as the building of Temples of Peace without first laying their economic moral foundations.

IX

Writers, jurists, pacifists, statesmen, professors, clergymen ought to have a knowledge of economics or, at least, of elementary economic principles; for, these are the natural fundamentals of ethical life and sound politics. Thus they would realize more clearly and more earnestly that the present war and cataclysm has its origin and deep cause in an artificial, unsound and unjust, international economic policy. Furthermore they would understand that a natural, ethical economic organization of the international commonwealth is the primary necessity, the condition precedent, to a satisfactory settlement of the momentous problem confronting Mankind.—This statement without losing sight of the need of improving the internal economic policy of nations.

Allow me, Gentlemen, to summarize my philosophy of the international problem, as connected with that of universal phenomena, and to conclude:

Knowledge of economic truth and practice of economic morality are the fundamentals of societies and civilizations that would progress and last.

No human achievement, no society, no political organization, national or international, no civilization can prosper and endure in which the material progress of the community is not balanced by an adequate moral and spiritual progress of the individual—that is to say by the development of the principle and "germ" of immortality in Man. What we call "progress" is illusion, and even perdition, if unaccompanied by, if not identified with development of the human soul or "Spirit," with accelerations.

(¹) Such other general and abstract notions or conceptions as "truth", "justice", "good", can have no clear and definite meaning unless considered in their connection with the fulfilment of the final cause; for, it is obvious that everything that is "true", that is "just", that is "good" must have as its goal the achievement of this final cause.

tion in the process of spiritualization of matter and the accomplishment of the final cause of the universe or supreme purpose. Probably this war marks the beginning of the collapse of a material, artificial, unbalanced culture and civilization which does not respond to the moral and spiritual cause and end of the phenomena of Nature, of Mankind, of the Universe. It signals the just conclusion of an historical period in which, through their appointed and unappointed leaders, men have shown themselves inferior to their destiny and mission, i.e., to the supreme and universal divine purpose. "Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting!" Upon the ruins of our works shall in time arise a new culture and civilization whose success and duration will depend on the equilibrium and the adequacy of its material, intellectual, moral and spiritual activities and achievements.

Intellectual activities and moral aspirations and efforts (among which are the political activities and efforts) are natural phenomena in which are developed superior natural forces, which we call "moral forces," through the action of which matter is spiritualized, the soul of man formed, and the final cause of the Universe elaborated. Spiritualized matter, or "Spirit," is thus the result of a metaphysical and meta-chemical process in which Man is the instrumentality—a process of which the theory, reconciling physics and metaphysics, materialism and spiritualism, is, in my opinion, within the actual reach of a positivist philosophy (here outlined in a broad preliminary sketch) which could furnish a needed scientific basis to Christianity.

Morality in relations is the observance of such rules of Truth and Justice as not only ensure progress, order and peace in human society, but which also respond to human Finalities that at least form part of the final cause of the Universe. Morality in the relations of man with man is the necessary starting point of spirituality—or morality of Man in his relations with God—a morality whereby man may become one with God—indeed, may "re-create" God from the Cosmos or Nature, into which He first transmuted Himself with a purpose of ultimate Harmony and Happiness, through Truth, Justice and Love. Morality, in the hypothesis of spiritualization of matter, is seen to be the way and the means by which Mankind makes its contribution to the fulfilment of the highest and most universal, as well as the most imperative and incoercible necessity. The fatefulness of morality in human conduct and affairs is inexorable.

Thus we understand that international organizations, institutional mechanisms, leagues, and other international "realities" are futile and "primitive" processes, and why Nature, through complications and difficulties in these material undertakings, appears to insist on a necessity for a deeper, higher solution of the problem of peace among men—a solution through righteousness, morality, spirituality in international life.

Thus, also are explained the basic moral importance of all economic issues, the natural and moral necessity of economic division of labor, exchange, co-operation, original and fundamental natural phenomena of any human civilization, and the fatefulness in international relations and politics of liberty or restriction in international trade—a fatefulness demonstrated by the immensity and tragedy of the present world events.

Yet throughout its career Mankind keeps in its own hands its fate and the possibilities of its own redemption through a right and comprehensive interpretation of nature's phenomena; for,

All are but parts of one stupendous whole Whose body Nature is, and God the soul. All nature is but art, unknown to thee, All chance, direction which thou canst not see, All discord, harmony not understood, All partial evil, universal good.

Indeed we could accept Pope's conclusion: "whatever is, is right" if we adopted (when it is scientifically expounded)
Tennyson's lofty and comprehensive creed: "One God, one law, one element, and one far off divine event, to which the whole creation moves,"

H.L.

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